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ABSTRACT

This 1966 study of 1,413 household heads residing in the rural Ozarks has shown at least partial support for the hypothesis that parental values mitigate the limitations of low socioeconomic status (SES) for the educational attainment and intergenerational occupational mobility of the migrant children of the male heads. Major findings were that (1) educational attainment of migrant children was positively and significantly related to the head's SES and to the father's educational need, defined as his perceptions of the level of educational attainment needed (not wanted or expected) by his children for "getting ahead in the world" and (2) intergenerational occupational mobility of migrant children was positively and significantly related to the head's SES but only positively related to educational need. The study also found (1) a weak positive relationship between the head's SES and the occupational expectations of youth; (2) a weak positive but significant relationship between the head's SES and occupational aspirations of youth; (3) a strong positive and significant relationship between the head's SES and the educational expectations of youth; and (4) a strong positive and significant relationship between the head's SES and educational need. Results of this study indicate the potential fruitfulness of viewing facilitating valuation and educational need as concepts supplementing the concepts of aspiration and expectation. (Author/AL)

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PARENTAL VALUES, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG RURAL YOUTH IN THE OZARKS

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ABSTRACT

This 1966 study of 1,413 household heads residing in the rural Ozarks has shown at least partial support for the hypothesis that parental values mitigate the limitations of low socio-economic status for the educational attainment and inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant children of the male heads. Major findings were that: (1) the educational attainment of the migrant children was positively and significantly related to the *head's socio-economic status*, defined as per capita family income, and to the father's *educational need*, defined as the parent's perceptions of the level of educational attainment *needed* (not wanted or expected) by his children for (the end or goal of) "getting ahead in the world;" and (2) the inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant children was positively and significantly related to the head's socio-economic status but only positively related to educational need. Other findings help explain or offset this apparent contradiction.

A few conceptual distinctions are needed to provide a context for communicating such findings. As *aspiration* is a person's perception of a given goal (end) wanted by himself or by another person, an *expectation* is a person's estimation of the probability that he or another person will attain a given goal, and a *facilitating valuation* is a person's estimation of the relevance of he or another person using a specific means to attain a given goal.

The study also found: (1) a weak positive relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the occupational expectations of youth; (2) a weak positive but significant (.05 level) relationship between the head's socio-

economic status and the occupational aspirations of youth; (3) a strong positive and significant (.001 level) relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the educational expectations of youth; and (4) a strong positive and significant (.001 level) relationship between the head's socio-economic status and educational need. There was a weak positive relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of migrant children; this relationship did not vary with the number of birth order of the migrant children in the family. In comparison, the educational attainment of the first and second migrant child (but not that of the third or fourth child) was positively and significantly (at .05 level and .01 levels, respectively) related to educational need. Thus, among families having one or two migrant children, the educational attainment of the migrant children of fathers who responded "some college" or more was not significantly related to the head's socio-economic status, whereas (the level of) educational need was.

In sum, the apparent contradiction between the two first-mentioned findings seems more superficial than real. That is, each of the two variables is more important at a different period of the occupational choice process (Ginzberg:1966): the head's socio-economic status is more important to the degree of inter-generational occupational mobility experienced by the migrant children, whereas educational need is more important to the level of education attained by the migrant children. The results of this study indicate the potential fruitfulness of viewing facilitating valuation and educational need as concepts supplementing the concepts of aspiration and expectation.

INTRODUCTION

Most of you are aware of William Kuvlesky's attempts to locate, codify, and synthesize past research on the status projections of youth.[1] This paper follows Norval Glenn, Rumaldo Juarez, and Kuvlesky in suggesting that our conceptual apparatus regarding status projections needs modification in order to take into consideration intention as well as desire and anticipation.[2] It compliments their work by introducing a concept that refers to the non-aspirational aspects of the occupational mobility process and that takes developmental theory into account. The remainder of this paper will (1) review some of the literature related to status projections of youth, (2) introduce the concept, facilitating (or acquisitional) valuation, (3) distinguish it from the concepts aspiration and expectation, and (4) present research results which suggest its fruitfulness.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Relevance of Developmental Theory for the Study of Status Projections of Rural Youth

As pointed out by Kuvlesky, rural sociologists researching the status projections of rural youth have generally given the developmental theories of Ginzberg, Roe, and Holland little attention.[3] This omission is particularly apparent by the number of studies in this area (1) that have studied aspirations (educational or occupational) or expectations (educational or occupational) but not both, (2) that have studied both educational and occupational aspirations and expectations but not actual educational and occupational attainment, or (3) that have studied educational and occupational aspirations, expectations, and attainment but have ignored values. The objectives of the next several paragraphs are: (1) to indicate the gap between theoretical and actual occupational mobility, (2) to delineate one developmental theory and (3) to indicate the theoretical importance of values for any serious study of the influence of the status projections of youth on their subsequent educational and occupational attainment.

The Relevance of Parental Values for Occupational Mobility

Theoretically, occupational change in the upward vertical direction is open to all.[4] Actually, however, individuals reared by low-income parents enter the occupational competition at a comparative disadvantage. The disadvantage is partially due to the economic circumstances of the family of origin. Slocum (1956:11) says that circumstances "may limit the contacts and channel the activities of younger members in ways which are not conducive to upward occupational mobility."

Ginzberg (1966:48) provided an analytical context for expanding upon this statement and for delineating the process of occupational choice. Ginzberg saw three basic elements in a theory of occupational choice: "(1) it is a process; (2) the process is largely irreversible; and (3) compromise is an essential aspect of every choice." He (1966:48) pointed out that the process of occupational choice consists of three analytically distinct periods--fantasy, tentative, and realistic choices. Ginzberg stated that essential attitudes and values first appear in the fantasy period.[5] He also said that the education of young adults greatly affects decisions made in the period of realistic choices.

Several writers have referred to the general importance of values or value orientations for the process of occupational choice. Rosenberg (1957), in a nation-wide study of college seniors, found that values partially determine occupational choice. The results of studies by Straus (1956), Haller (1957), Burchinal (1960), and Kaldor (1962) at least partially supported Rosenberg's finding. More specifically, the results indicated that farm boys who plan to farm have different value orientations from those who do not plan to farm. Slocum's (1967:10) point that values are one of many factors influencing aspirations and expectations may have been neglected. His point, viewed in the context of developmental theory, suggests the fruitfulness of focusing upon the relationship of values, aspirations, and expectations, on the one hand, to educational and occupational attainment on the other--of examining at least three different periods within the occupational choice process in the same study.[6]

Other writers have focused upon the importance of parental influence in general or of parental values in particular for the child's occupational mobility. Hyman (1953) made two contributions. First, he concluded that the kinds of pressures and resources offered by parents influence status-striving in children. Second, he suggested that lower-class individuals are immobile because they choose to adhere to values which perpetuate the existing order. Thus, the values which the youth internalize happen to be less rather than more conducive to occupational mobility. Youmans (1959) concluded that parental influence on aspiration levels is related to status-striving in children. These studies suggest the theoretical (if not, the practical) relevance of focusing upon the presence of parental values which are more rather than less conducive to the child's (or youth's) upward occupational mobility.

The Relevance of Parental Values Toward Educational Attainment for the Child's (Youth's) Upward Occupational Mobility

Many writers have examined the relationship between two of the following three conceptual areas in the same study: (1) values, aspirations, or expectations, (2) educational attainment, and (3) occupational mobility. The following comments provide a context for recognizing the theoretical relevance of focusing upon selected interrelationships among the three conceptual areas in the same study. Rosen (1956:206-207) suggested that strong motives to achieve result in high mobility only if accompanied by other implementing or acquisitional values. Ginzberg (1966:238,240) said that:

> "Although relatively little is known about the growth, during the formative years, of basic values, including values connected with work, there can be no question that the child develops these values largely as a result of his relations to his parents and other key persons in his environment...(240) The school and the home always stand in a reciprocal relationship to each other."[7]

Coll (1965) mentioned that studies have indicated the contribution of educational attainment to one's societal "success," defined economically, socially, and culturally.

The Relevance of Distinctions Between Aspirations and Expectations

Various writers have helped make minimal analytical distinctions between aspirations and expectations. Some, for example, have pointed out that aspirations are usually higher than are the expectations for the same individual. Slocum (1956), Haller and Sewell (1957), Burchinal (1962), Kaldor, et. al. (1963), and Nunalee and Drabick (1965) have studied the relationship between the educational and/or occupational aspirations and the expectations of high school students. They suggested that a substantial proportion of these students tend to revise their expectations downward as compared with their aspirations.

The Relevance of Parental Socio-Economic Status and Residence for The Status Projections of Youth

In reviewing the past-mentioned set of studies, Hobbs (1965:5) pointed out that farm youth of lower socio-economic status have more difficulty revising their expectations downward than do their counterparts of upper socio-economic status. More specifically, Hobbs stated that the occupational aspirations of lower-socio-economic-status farm boys were "somewhat unrealistic in terms of the resources available to them." Kaufman (1966:41) pointed out that many research studies have shown that the social status of parents "differentiate levels of occupational and educational aspirations of children, even when intelligence and rural-urban residence are controlled." Furthermore, Empey (1956) found that while lower class members have lower absolute aspirations, their relative aspirations are similar to those of higher classes. Nevertheless, he also mentioned Reissman's (1953) point that situational factors, reference group identifications, and motivations for things other than material success often mediate the relationships. Thus, social status or class differences influence but do not necessarily determine the levels of aspirations and expectations.

The relationship between farm residence or status and aspirations, expectations, or values is not clear. Kaufman (1966:41) mentioned Lipset's (1955) general hypothesis that rural residents have lower aspirations than urban residents, regardless of social rank. Kaufman stated that, to date, Middleton and Grigg's (1959) empirical support of Lipset's hypothesis has been out-weighed by Burchinal (1961) and Haller's (1957) findings that farm status tends to depress aspirations. Straus (1959) found that personality orientations (which, among other things, include values and reference group orientations) of farm youth are statistically related to their aspirations for lower-status occupations. Fliegel (1959) found that farm status is more important than lower income in depressing aspiration levels. The latter set of findings support the relevance of the writers' inclusion of both farm and non-farm residents in the sampling and study.

The Search for Predictors of the Long-Run Occupational Attainment of Youth

The making of minimal analytical distinctions between aspirations and expectations and the search for a good predictor of youth's long-run occupational attainment converges in the work of Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966).[8] They pointed out that most recent research has characteristically evolved from the assumption that occupational aspirations of youth are important determinants of subsequent attainment. They tested (1967) this assumption, found a weak positive relationship between the occupational aspirations of adolescents and their subsequent attainment, and concluded that adolescents' aspirations are not good predictors of long-run occupational attainment. These and more recent contributions by Kuvlesky and Bealer not only have raised the question whether there is a better predictor of long-run occupational attainment but also have provided a conceptual base.[9]

Status Orientations

Juarez defined a status orientation as "a mental concept that directs or channels a person's energies toward a social object having status significance."[10] Also in accordance with the Kuvlesky and Bealer scheme, Juarez delineated the three major components of status orientations: "(1) a person or persons, (2) orientations, and (3) social objects (statuses)."[11] Whereas Juarez stated that the first component is "self-explanatory," the writers support Kuvlesky and Bealer's (1966:270) assertion that each of the components are variable.[12] The idea of variability allows for the fact that a person's status orientations may (1) be incongruent with each other at one point in time or over time and (2) vary from one person's perspective to that of another at one point in time or over time.[13]

Juarez stated that the second component, orientations, consists of two major types--aspirations and expectations. He (1966:11) defined an aspiration as "the mental process of a person or persons which serves as channeling of energies toward a status goal" and an expectation as "the probable attainment in reference to a particular status area."[14] He (1966:9) mentioned that the objects respectively referred to by the concepts: (1) aspirations refer to statuses or goals that are desired while (2) expectations refer to anticipated status or goal attainment.

Juarez as well as Kuvlesky and Bealer have viewed the third component of status orientations--social objects--as variable. Juarez (1966:10), for example, stated that social objects "vary in kind and in level." What remains unclear, however, is the nature and inclusiveness of the referent of the social objects component. They mentioned education, income, occupation, and residence as examples of status or goal areas. Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966:269) stated that "the notion of [occupational] aspiration designates what job a person wishes [or wants] to acquire." They also pointed out that:

> "An aspiration usually refers to a person's, or grouping of persons', orientation toward a goal. In this sense, aspiration is a special form of the concept 'attitude,' which is commonly defined as a predisposition to behave towards a social object. The distinction between the two concepts is that the object involved in an aspiration is a goal and therefore is more or less desired by individuals; whereas an attitude may be positively or negatively directed."

Given the distinction between an aspiration and an attitude, we suggest that "wanting" a social object is only one of several ways a person or persons may orientate their thinking, feeling, or activity toward it. In other words, the conceptual apparatus is not inclusive enough to include social objects which refer to means-ends relationships.

THE RELEVANCY OF A NEW CONCEPT:
ACQUISITIONAL OR FACILITATING VALUATION

The writers of this paper suggest that another distinction is needed--between an expectation and an acquisitional or facilitating valuation. Following Kuvlesky (1966:273), the object to which an expectation refers is an estimation of the probability of attainment of a goal or goal-area, given the use of one or more specific means. However, both concepts refer to objects which may not be personally wanted or desired.

Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966:270) separated the concept aspiration into three analytical elements: "(1) a person or persons, (2) wanting (having an orientation toward or about), (3) a social object (i.e. a goal)." The writers of this paper suggest that the concept acquisitional or facilitating valuation can be broken down into the following analysical elements: (1) a person or persons, (2) estimating the relevance of, (3) a person or persons, (4) using (or adopting) or selecting one or more specific means to attain one or more given goals (ends).[15] Thus, the referent of the concept acquisitional or facilitating valuation is more inclusive than that of the concept aspiration. More specifically, the former refers to one's estimation of the probability of one or more means facilitating the attainment of one or more specific goals for oneself or for others; the latter refers to one's estimation of the probability of one or more person's attaining a specific goal (end).

The analytical relevance of the concept acquisitional valuation is that it accounts for orientational situations pervaded by incongruency. Examples include the empirical situations in which an individual has (absolutely or relatively) high occupational aspirations and expectations but (1) does not view educational attainment as a relevant means to his occupational mobility and/or (2) has not internalized that valuation for his own behavior. The existence of such orientational situations was suggested by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966:270). They stated that an individual may desire a number of goals at the same time but may not perceive them as being directly interrelated: "...his goal-specifications may or may not be logically consistent." Thus, perceiving a specific goal or means-end relationship is one thing. Internalizing the perception or acting in accordance with it is another. Given the relevance of the above analytical and conceptual distinctions, the writers operationalized the concept acquisitional valuation as well as the concepts aspiration and expectation.

In brief, we suggest that the following concepts and their respective definitions would constitute an improvement in the conceptual apparatus in the area of the status projections of youth: (1) a value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection of a specific mean or means for the anticipated attainment of a given goal (end) or goals;[16] (2) an aspiration is a person's perception of a given goal (end) wanted by himself or by another person; (3) an expectation is a person's estimation of the probability that he or another person will attain a given goal; and (4) a facilitating valuation is a person's estimation of the relevance of he or another person using a specific means to attain a given goal.

Hypothesis

Based upon the above review of the literature, the writers posited that the father's perception(s) of the level of education needed by his children to "get along well in the world" does mitigate the limitations of low socio-economic status for the migrant child's (1) educational attainment and (2) inter-generational occupational mobility.[17]

METHODOLOGY

1. Sampling

The Sample and the Population.

The sample for this study consisted of 1,413 households within the Ozark Region, an area consisting of a total of 125 counties, of which 44 were in Arkansas, 44 were in Missouri, and 37 were in Oklahoma.[18] The location of this area is indicated by the shaded portion of the map in the Appendix.

The population from which the sample was drawn was defined as head of households, exclusive of institutionalized or military persons residing in the rural portions of the Ozark Region. Head of household was defined as the individual who usually earned most of the money that supported the family and/or who made most of the family decisions.

General Description of the Sampling Procedure.

A stratified-cluster sampling procedure was used to select dwelling units. Stratification was done by (1) ranking the 125 counties in the region from low to high on the basis of the per-capita income of residents, 1960, and (2) dividing the array of counties into three income strata.[19] Clustering was done by (1) selecting nine sample counties from each of the three state portions of the sample area for a total of 27 sample counties (that is, three counties were selected from each income stratum within each state portion of the sample area), (2) subsampling four survey township from each of the 27 counties, and (3) subsampling rural dwelling units from those in the 108 townships. The probability of selection was weighted by the number of occupied dwelling units in counties and townships, respectively.[20]

2. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to learn what extent, if any, the father's facilitating valuation(s) toward education mitigated the limitations of low socio-economic status for the educational attainment and inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant children. The specific objectives were to examine selected relationships between the following variables of the process of occupational choice: (1) the head's socio-economic status, (2) father's perception(s) of the level of education needed by his children "to get along well in the world," (3) the educational attainment of selected populations, including the father and the migrant children, (4) the occupational attainment of the migrant child, (5) status orientations such as educational expectations, and (6) inter-generational occupational mobility.

3. Operational and Statistical Techniques

Computation of Occupational Status and Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility.

The writer used a revised North-Hatt scale of occupational prestige as a basis to approximate a unidimensional scale of occupational status (see Figure 2, Index of Occupational Status, in Appendix). As indicated in Figure 2, the Index of Occupational Status facilitates the assignment of a particular numerical prestige score to each occupational category.[21] Thus, a prestige score was assigned to each father and to each migrant child.

These scores ranged from one to eighteen. They provided a basis for computing the degree and direction of inter-generational occupational mobility. The computation involved subtracting the prestige score of the father from that of his migrant child and then categorizing the resulting score into one of four categories representing different types of mobility.[22]

The index also facilitated an inter-generational comparison of the prestige associated with the highest-to-date status of each male household head who was a father with the prestige associated with the present occupational status of his migrant children.[23] The prestige associated with the highest-to-date status of the father is preferable to the prestige associated with his present status for two reasons. One is that the former allows for the effect of old age on the individual's status. That is, it takes into account the probability that the prestige associated with his present status may be lower than that associated with a position formerly held. A second reason is that the highest-to-date approach allows for the effect of a change in the father's educational valuations toward the level of education needed by his children for occupational mobility. That is, the child may have internalized the father's placing a high valuation on educational attainment as a means to "getting along well in the world" only because of the father's perceptions toward the same were gained by having held the highest-to-date position.

The preference is for the prestige associated with the present rather the first occupational status of the migrant child after migration because it allows for the fact that the first job, particularly of the migrant, does not fulfill the latter's occupational aspiration(s). It also allows for the related fact that, other things being equal, one's occupational status often increases with age and/or occupational experience.

As illustrated in Figure 3, the writers ranked the mobility types to facilitate analysis between inter-generational occupational mobility and variables such as educational attainment.[24]

The Computation of The Father's Facilitating Valuations Toward Education.

The writers viewed the child's educational attainment as a variable related not only to the head's (or family's) socio-economic status but also to the migrant child's occupational mobility. The item, "How much education do (did) you think your children need to get along well in the world?", was viewed as an empirical indicator of the father's facilitating valuations toward his children viewing educational attainment as a means to occupational mobility (see Figure 4, Index of Educational Need of Children). The concept educational need has reference to (1) the parent's perceptions of (2) the level of educational attainment (3) needed (as a means to) (4) by his children (5) for (the end or goal of) "getting along well in the world."[25] Neither the concept nor the item refers to how much education the parent (or the child) wants or expects. The extent to which the above item refers to occupational mobility or "success" will be suggested by the findings of the data analysis.[26]

Occupational aspirations, occupational expectations, and educational expectations were respectively measured by the following empirical indicators: (1) "What kind of work does your oldest son who is still in school want to go into?"; (2) "How good do you think his (your oldest son who is still in school) chances are of going into this kind of work?"; and (3) "How much education do you expect your oldest son who is still in school to get?"

To facilitate cross-tabular analysis of a limited number of cases on which data were available, the data on educational need were dichotomized: (1) "12 years or less" and (2) "some college or more."

The Computation of Educational Status.

The writers measured the educational status of each father, son, and migrant child in terms of the last grade of formal education that each had completed. Where the number of cases permitted, analysis was directed toward fathers and sons, both of which were 46 years of age or over. This approach allowed time for the son to complete his formal education and to attain a higher-prestige job.[27]

A score indicative of the level of formal education completed was assigned to each father and son (see Figure 5, Index of Educational Status). For example, the individual who had completed four years of formal education was assigned the score of "1," whereas the individual who had completed college was assigned the score of "7."

Approximately half of the fathers and sons, respectively, had completed "8 years or less" and "11 years or less" of education. Thus, for purposes of analysis, responses regarding educational attainment were placed into two sets of categories: 1.(a) "8 years or less" and (b) "9 years or more" for the father's educational attainment; and 2.(a) "11 years or less" and (b) "12 years or more" for the son's educational attainment.

The data on the educational attainment and present occupational status of migrant sons mentioned above was obtained by asking the father to indicate the following for any children who had "left the community to stay" within the last ten years (since 1955): 1. "When...left home, what was the highest grade of school that he (she) completed?" and 2. "What is...'s job or major (occupational) activity now?"

FINDINGS

1. The Relationship Between Head's Perceptions of His Child's Status Orientations and The Head's Socio-Economic Status

Parental Valuations Toward Their Children Viewing Educational Attainment As A Means To Occupational Mobility

Table 4 indicates that the relationship between the head's perception of the (level of) education needed by his children for success (occupational mobility) and the head's socio-economic status was (statistically) significant at the .001 level.[28] Indeed, the relationship was unidirectional; that is, the higher the head's socio-economic status, the higher the level of education he perceived as necessary for the success of his children. The categorical percentages of heads responding "finish college" were: (1) serious poverty, 20.0 percent; (2) poverty, 34.0 percent; (3) marginal, 62.5 percent; (4) probably not in poverty, 66.3 percent; and (5) definitely not in poverty, 78.9 percent. Thus, heads of lower socio-economic status had significantly lower valuations toward their children viewing (perceiving) educational attainment as a means to occupational mobility than did their counterparts of higher socio-economic status.

Given the significantly lower educational attainment of heads of lower socio-economic status, the finding that nearly 95 percent of them thought their children needed to finish high school may indicate their awareness of the structural trend of rising educational requirements for upward occupational mobility. But the finding in itself may or may not indicate that the parent's values are conducive to their children's upward occupational mobility. Nevertheless, the finding does indicate that the parents think their children need more formal education than they received themselves.

Head's Perception of His Oldest Son's (Who Is Still in School) Occupational Aspirations

The head's perception of his oldest son's (who is still in school) occupational aspirations was also positively related to the head's socio-economic status (see Table 5).[29] Despite the limited number of cases, the results suggest (1) that a small proportion of the sons aspired to be farmers and (2) that, although the most common aspirational category for both those in serious poverty and those definitely not in poverty was "professional, technical, or managerial," the respective percentage of responses was 45.4 percent and 75.0 percent. Thus, 30 percent more of heads with higher socio-economic status than those with lower socio-economic status perceived that their oldest son aspired to a higher-prestige occupation. Viewed differently, a significantly higher proportion of the sons of heads of lower socio-economic status aspired to be a craftsman, foreman, or operator than did the sons of heads of higher socio-economic status. More specifically, whereas 36.4 percent and 40.0 percent, respectively, of those sons of heads in serious poverty and poverty aspired to one of the last-mentioned categories, only 12.5 percent of those sons of heads definitely not in poverty did so. Thus, according to the heads, the sons of heads of lower socio-economic status had significantly (.05 level) lower (absolute) occupational aspirations than did their counterparts of higher socio-economic status.[30]

Head's Expectations of His Oldest Son's (Who Is Still in School) Occupational Attainment

An individual's expectations may or may not be related to an objective definition of his socio-economic status. The writers found that the head's expectations of his oldest son's (who is still in school) occupational attainment was not significantly related to the head's socio-economic status (see Table 6). Actually, 36.4 percent of the heads definitely not in poverty and 50 percent or more of those in the other four (socio-economic status) categories responded "don't know." Particularly since the response had reference to the oldest son who is still in school, the extent of this response suggests that heads of lower socio-economic status may be realistic in their goal orientation(s) as their counterparts of higher socio-economic status.

Even though the relationship was not significant, it was positive and unidirectional. More specifically, the higher the head's socio-economic status, the higher the percentage of heads responding "good" or "excellent." The relationship was not as strong as one might expect, however. That is, the occupational expectation level of heads definitely not in poverty responding "good" or "excellent," respectively, was only 13 and 15 percent higher than that of heads in serious poverty.

Head's Expectations of His Oldest Son's (Who is Still in School) Educational Attainment

Theoretically, a parent could anticipate events in the near future more accurately than those in the more distant future. Accordingly, the writers expected that the head's expectations of his oldest son's (who is still in school) educational attainment would be more closely related to the head's socio-economic status than would the head's expectations of the oldest son's occupational attainment. Table 7 shows that the relationship was significant at the .001 level.[31] Although different sets of respondents were involved, the writers compared the data for heads in serious poverty and poverty in Tables 4 and 7. There is substantial congruency of the head's expectations of his oldest son's educational attainment and the parent's perception of the (level of) education needed by his children for success. Of the heads in serious poverty and poverty, respectively, 34.2 and 59.3 percent indicated an educational need level of "some college" or more and 26.1 and 46.0 percent indicated educational expectations at the "some college" or more level. Thus, the average difference between the education valuations and expectations of heads of lower socio-economic status was 10.7 percent. The difference was even less for heads in serious poverty than heads in poverty--8 percent to 13 percent.

The congruence between the educational valuations and expectations of heads in the same socio-economic status category suggests that the level of educational attainment expected (by the parent) of one's child is related to the parent's valuations toward the same and to the parent's socio-economic status. Stated differently, the congruence suggests that what one expects his children to attain depends on valuations (and/or aspirations) as well as socio-economic status. Thus, data related to Tables 4 and 7 indicated a distinct relationship: the lower the head's socio-economic status (1) the lower the parent's valuations toward the level of educational attainment perceived as necessary for the child's success and (2) the lower the parent's expectations toward the level of his child's educational attainment. The greater congruence between the levels of educational valuations and expectations among the heads of lower socio-economic status than among the heads of higher socio-economic status may indicate that the former are more realistic in their orientations than other studies have suggested.

2. The Relationship Between The Educational Attainment of Selected Populations and The Head's Socio-Economic Status

This section reports the findings of analysis of the relationship, if any between the socio-economic status of heads and the educational attainment of selected populations whose age, sex, and residential location were held constant. Such analysis was based on two assumptions: (1) that (as mentioned earlier) the socio-economic status of the family members residing in the household would be indicated by the appropriate Typology of Poverty Classification category, termed head's socio-economic status, and (2) that the head's socio-economic status was highly similar to what it had been eleven years ago. Given these assumptions, the following relationships were posited: (1) an intra-generational relationship between head's socio-economic status and head's educational attainment, and (2) an inter-generational relationship between head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of migrant and non-migrant children.

Educational Attainment of The Various Family Members, Age and Sex Unspecified

As expected, there was a strong positive relationship (significant at .001 level) between head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of the head and other family members whose age and sex were unspecified. Thus, the higher the head's socio-economic status, the higher the over-all level of education of the family members. More specifically, 21.5 percent and 51.2 percent, respectively, of the family members in serious poverty and definitely not in poverty had completed 12 years or more of education. Clearly, if there is an inter-generational "cycle of poverty," low education is structurally linked to it.

Educational Attainment of Family Members, 25 Years of Age or Over, Except Those Still in School

Additional analysis indicated that holding the age of family members constant did not reduce the extent of the relationship; indeed, the chi-square value was higher with the same degrees of freedom. Stated differently, the writers examined the relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of family members who were 25 years of age or over. The results showed that the strong positive relationship still existed when the education of children still in school was excluded. The respective percentages of family members in serious poverty and definitely not in poverty who had completed 12 years or more of formal education were 23.9 and 63.0.

Educational Attainment of Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, At Home

The writers found that the socio-economic status of heads was also positively and significantly (at the .001 level) related to the educational attainment of sons, 25 years of age or over, who were residing at home (see Table 8). This finding suggests an inter-generational relationship between head's socio-economic status and the non-migrant child's educational attainment. Probably because the analysis was limited to the educational attainment of just the family's younger generation, the difference in the level of educational attainment of sons in poverty and those not in poverty was smaller than that of the above populations: the respective percentages in the two grouped categories who had completed 12 years or more of education were 52.0 and 70.3.

Educational Attainment of Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, At Home or Elsewhere

The data in Table 9 also shows an inter-generational relationship between head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of non-migrant and migrant sons, 25 years of age or over. The extent of the relationship was virtually the same as that reported in Table 8, given the same degrees of freedom. Among this population the respective percentages of sons in poverty and those not in poverty who had completed 12 years or more of education were 51.8 and 69.6. Thus, the percentage difference in the level of educational attainment between the two grouped categories was virtually the same as in the last table. This suggests that the socio-economic status of heads was related to the level of attainment but not the fact of migration.

Educational Attainment of Sons, 46 Years of Age or Over, At Home or Elsewhere

Although the level of significance was substantially less than that of other relationships discussed in this section, a relationship was found between the socio-economic status of heads and the educational attainment of migrant and non-migrant sons, 46 years of age or over (see Table 10). This finding indicates at least three things: (1) (as in the other relationships reported above) that there is an inter-generational relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of the sons--non-migrant and migrant; (2) that (based on the different age group of the population), in comparison to their older brothers, the younger sons in each of the three socio-economic status categories had completed more education at the high school level or below but had completed less at the post-high-school level; and (3) that, regardless of the age of the population, sons of heads of higher socio-economic status had attained some post-high school education nearly three times as often as had the sons of heads of lower socio-economic status. The last point is illustrated by the respective percentages of the 46-years-of-age-or-over population in poverty and not in poverty who had completed 12 years or more of education--33.4 and 62.5.

Educational Attainment of Migrant Children

As the writers had expected, the educational attainment of the migrant children was related to the socio-economic status of the heads at the .001 level (see Table 11). This relationship is illustrated by the respective percentages of this population in poverty and those not in poverty who had completed more than 12 years of education--2.4 and 27.1. Thus, on the basis of head's socio-economic status, there was little chance that the migrant child of a low (per capita) income family would have completed any education beyond high school. However, it is surprising that 68.8 percent of them had completed high school.

Summary

All the results of the cross-tabular analysis of the relationship between the socio-economic status of heads and the educational attainment of populations of selected age, sex, and residential location were statistically significant. These results indicate: (1) that the educational attainment of migrant and non-migrant children of low socio-economic status families was limited by the family's low per capita income--that there was an inter-generational relationship between head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of his children and (2) that substantially more of the children of heads of low socio-economic status completed high school than one would have expected on the basis of an objective projection of the family's socio-economic situation.

3. The Relationship Between The Father's (With One or More Migrant Children) Perceptions of The Education Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility and The Head's Socio-Economic Status

The results presented in Table 12 show that the head's socio-economic status was positively but not significantly related to the level of education that the father of one or more migrant children perceived as necessary for his children's occupational mobility. The higher the head's socio-economic status, the higher the probability that the level of educational need was "some college or more." More specifically, of the fathers of migrant children who answered the question, 58.7 percent of those in poverty and 71 percent of those not in poverty, respectively, responded that their children needed at least some college. This result and the ones discussed above indicate that over half of the fathers of lower socio-economic status perceived that their children needed "some college or more" and that this level of educational valuation may help explain why 68.8 percent of the migrant children of heads of lower socio-economic status had completed high school.

4. The Relationship Between The Educational Attainment of Migrant Children and The Fathers' Perceptions of The (Level of) Education Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility

Table 13 illustrates the point that the educational attainment of migrant children in a family was positively and significantly related to educational need for the first and second migrant child but not for the third or fourth. Among the families with either one or two migrant children, having attained 12 years or more of education was both positively and significantly (at .05 and .01 levels, respectively) to having parents who had perceived that their children needed at least "some college" for occupational mobility.

5. The Relationship Between The Educational Attainment of Migrant Children and The Head's Socio-Economic Status

Table 14 shows a weak positive and insignificant relationship between the educational attainment of the migrant children and the head's socio-economic status. This relationship did not vary according to the number or birth order of migrant children in the family. This finding suggests an "all-or-nothing" family approach to migration and a college education. It also suggests the existence of a value structure whose apparent effect was substantially similar for all the children--migrant or non-migrant. A comparison of Tables 13 and 14 shows that educational need was positively and significantly related to the educational attainment of families have one or two migrant children even though the head's socio-economic status was not! Thus, among families having one or two migrant children, the educational attainment of the migrant children of fathers who responded "some college" or more was not significantly related to the socio-economic status of their parents, whereas (the level of) educational need was.

6. The Relationship Between The Migration of Children and The Head's Socio-Economic Status

Table 15 presents data concerning the migration of children as related to the head's socio-economic status. The table shows the lack of a relationship between the two variables. Indeed, the respective percentages of heads in serious poverty and those definitely not in poverty who had migrant children were 38.2 and 32.9. That is, heads of low socio-economic status had a slightly higher proportion of children who migrated than did those of high socio-economic status. This and previous results presented above suggest that differential rates of occupational mobility by rural youth are related to subjective variables such as parental valuations as well as to objective variables such as head's socio-economic status.

7. The Relationship Between The Occupational Status of Migrant Children and Selected Characteristics

This section reports the analysis of the relationship between the present occupational status of the migrant children and three selected characteristics: head's socio-economic status, migrant child's educational attainment, and educational need. Although the limited number of cases prevented statistical testing, percentage comparisons are made to throw light on the extent to which each of the three was related to the migrant child's present occupational status. If it is assumed that the values of parents now held are highly similar to those held by the parents when their children were in high school, occupational status can be viewed as a link in a temporal chain preceded by each of the other three links.

Educational Attainment of The Migrant Children

Table 16 shows that the migrant child's present occupational status is likely related to his educational attainment, even though a statistical test was not conducted. Except for the "other," "clerical and sales," and "managerial and professional" categories, there were more migrant children in each category who had less than a high school education than there were who had a high school education or more. Put differently, the higher-prestige occupational statuses were held by migrant children with at least a high school education. The fact that all of those who were clerks or salesmen had completed at least a high school education can be coupled with two other facts: (1) that none of the fathers were clerks or salesmen and (2) that the educational attainment of migrant children was significantly related to educational need but not to the head's socio-economic status. Collectively, these facts suggest the interrelationship among educational need, educational attainment, migration, and the attainment of higher-prestige occupational status.

Father's Perceptions of The (Level of) Education Needed by His Children For Occupational Mobility

Table 17 focuses upon the relationship between the migrant child's present occupational status and educational need. Of those migrant children who had "military," "operative and craftsmen," or "clerical and sales" occupational statuses, a slightly higher proportion had fathers who had responded "finish college" than had fathers who had responded "finish high school" to the educational need item. Of those migrant children who were either housewives or "laborers, except farm or mine," a higher proportion had fathers who had responded "finish high school" to the educational need item than those who had responded "some college" or "finish college."

These results indicate that having parents who placed a high rather than a low valuation upon their children's education increased the likelihood that the migrant child attained a higher-prestige position. It appears that this relationship was less strong for migrant children who held managerial or professional positions. More specifically, of the 11 in this category, 6 or slightly over half had fathers who had responded "finish college." It is interesting that none of the fathers of (migrant) children in this group had responded "some college" to the educational need item. This finding corresponds with an "all-or-nothing" hypothesis (mentioned above) whereby the parent either thinks that his children need to finish high school or finish college. That is, some college is not perceived as a desired end for one's children. The finding indicates the importance of the father's perceiving that his children needed to at least complete high school for the migrant child's subsequently having a higher-prestige occupational status.

8. The Relationship Between The Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility of Migrant Children and Selected Characteristics of The Head

This section presents the findings of analysis of the relationship between the inter-generational occupational of the migrant child and selected characteristics of the household head. Thus, the analytical focus is directed toward the end link--inter-generational occupational mobility--in a temporal chain preceded by the head's socio-economic status, the head's educational attainment, and educational need.

Head's Socio-Economic Status

Table 18 reveals a positive and significant (at .05 level) relationship between the inter-generational occupational mobility attained by migrant children who were 25 years of age or over and the socio-economic status of the heads.[32] The proportion of migrant children of this age category who experienced downward and static inter-generational occupational mobility, respectively, were 7.1 percent and 17.0 percent. In comparison, 38.6 percent and 37.3 percent of the migrant children experienced inter-generational mobility at the "upward-1" and "upward-2" levels, respectively. This means that 75.9 percent of the migrant population, 25 years of age or over, were upwardly mobile. This seemingly high percentage can be partically offset by the effect of class regression; that is, if an individual's father had a low occupational status, then, by definition, it is more likely that the former would attain an occupational status whose prestige is at least as high as that associated with the status of his father--an individual would be categorized as upwardly mobile. However, as mentioned earlier, the writers "stacked the cards" against this effect by comparing the present occupational status of the migrant child with the highest-to-date occupational status of his father.

Head's Educational Attainment

Table 19 illustrates the lack of a relationship between the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children, 25 years of age or over, and the educational attainment of the heads. Indeed, three-fourths of or 159 of this population of 212 migrant children had fathers who had attained 8 years or less of education. A comparison of those children who had experienced downward and upward mobility, respectively, shows that fathers of the former had more formal education.

Father's Perceptions Toward The Level of Educational Attainment Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility

Table 20 shows a slightly positive but insignificant relationship between the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children, 25 years of age or over, and educational need. Thus, having a father who thought that his children needed to have "some college" or more to "get along well in the world" increased, but only slightly, the likelihood of the migrant child experiencing upward rather than static or downward inter-generational occupational mobility.

Summary

In summary, the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children was positively and significantly related to the head's socio-economic status for migrant children, 25 years of age or over, but negatively related for migrant children, 46 years of age or over. This might suggest that it was more difficult for the younger population to experience upward occupational mobility than it was for their older counterparts. The inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children, 25 years of age or over, was not related to the head's educational attainment nor to educational need; however, the latter relationship was positive. These findings seem consistent with the finding (reported above) that the educational attainment of migrant children is positively and significantly related to such perceptions for the first and second child but not for the third or fourth child.

Thus, the findings suggest that both head's socio-economic status and the father's educational valuations are important to the process of occupational choice. However, each is more important at a different period of the process: the former is more important to the degree of inter-generational occupational mobility experienced by the migrant children, whereas the latter is more important to the level of education attained by the migrant children.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This 1966 study of 1,413 household heads residing in the rural Ozarks has shown at least partial support for the hypotheses that parental values mitigate the limitations of low socio-economic status for the educational attainment and inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant children of the male heads. Specific findings included: (1) the educational attainment of the migrant children was positively and significantly related to the head's socio-economic status, defined as per capita family income, and to the father's educational need, defined as the parent's perceptions of the level of educational attainment needed (not wanted or expected) by his children for (the end or goal of) "getting ahead in the world"; and (2) the inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant children was positively and significantly related to the head's socio-economic status but only positively related to educational need.

Other findings help explain or offset this apparent contradiction. However, a few conceptual distinctions are needed to provide a context for communicating such findings. The concept facilitating valuation, from which the concept educational need is derived, has the following analytical elements: (1) a person or persons, (2) estimation of the relevance of, (3) a person (the same or another) or persons, (4) using a specific means to attain a given goal (or end). In contrast, following Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966:270) the concept aspiration consists of the following analytical elements: "(1) a person or persons, (2) wanting (having an orientation toward or about), (3) a social object (i.e. a goal)."

Another set of findings of this study indicated: (1) a weak positive relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the occupational expectations of youth; (2) a weak positive but significant (.05 level) relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the occupational aspirations of youth; (3) a strong positive and significant (.001 level) relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the educational expectations of youth; and (4) a strong positive and significant (.001 level) relationship between the head's socio-economic status and educational need. Note that the relationship between head's socio-economic status and educational need was even stronger than the relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the occupational aspirations of youth.

The study found positive and significant relationships between the head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of (a) all family members, age and sex unspecified, (b) family members, 25 years of age or over, except those still in school, (c) sons, 25 years of age or over, at home, (d) sons, 25 years of age or over, at home or elsewhere, (e) sons, 46 years of age or over, at home or elsewhere, and (f) migrant children. These results seem partially offset by the fact that 58.7 percent of the fathers of migrant children perceived that their children needed "some college or more"; this level of facilitating valuation toward education helps explain why 68.8 percent of the migrant children of heads of lower socio-economic status had completed high school.

There is another set of findings that suggest that the limitations of the head's low socio-economic status can be at least partically offset by educational need or other facilitating valuations. There was a weak positive relationship between the head's socio-economic status and the educational attainment of migrant children; this relationship did not vary with the number or birth order of the migrant children in the family. In comparison, the educational attainment of the first and second migrant child (but not that of the third or fourth child) was positively and significantly (at .05 level and .01 levels, respectively) related to educational need. Thus, among families having one or two migrant children, the educational attainment of the migrant children of fathers who responded "some college" or more was not significantly related to the head's socio-economic status, whereas (the level of) educational need was.

The analytical importance of this finding is made clearer by another finding--that heads of low socio-economic status had a slightly higher proportion of children who migrated than did those of high socio-economic status.

The study also found that the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children, 25 years of age or over, was positively but insignificantly related to educational need but was not related to the head's educational attainment. The head's socio-economic status was positively and significantly related to the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children, 25 years of age or over; but it was negatively related to the inter-generational occupational mobility of migrant children, 46 years of age or over. The implication of this finding may be that "getting along well in the world" does not mean experiencing as much upward occupational mobility as possible. Indeed, as partially indicated by the fact that the congruence of the educational valuations and educational expectations of the heads of lower socio-economic status was greater than that of heads of higher socio-economic status, it appears that youth of this study had comparatively realistic value and status orientations.

In sum, the apparent contradiction between the two first-mentioned findings seems more superficial than real. That is, each of the two variables is more important at a different period of the occupational choice process (Ginzberg:1966): the head's socio-economic status is more important to the degree of inter-generational occupational mobility experienced by the migrant children whereas educational need is more important to the level of education attained by the migrant children. The tentative results of this study indicate the fruitfulness of viewing facilitating valuation and educational need as concepts supplementing the concepts of aspiration and expectation.

TABLES

Table 1. Distribution of Poverty Based on Annual Income 1963 by Age, Sex, Number in Family, and Farm-Nonfarm Residence1/

Number in Family	Nonfarm Total	Nonfarm Male head	Nonfarm Female head	Farm Total	Farm Male head	Farm Female head
	Dollars			Dollars		
1 (under 65)	1,885	1,970	1,820	1,150	1,185	1,090
1 (over 65)	1,745	1,775	1,735	1,055	1,065	1,040
2 (under 65)	2,713	2,740	2,570	1,640	1,645	1,540
2 (over 65)	2,460	2,470	2,420	1,480	1,480	1,465
3	3,160	3,170	3,070	1,890	1,895	1,835
4	4,005	4,010	3,920	2,410	2,410	2,375
5	4,675	4,680	4,595	2,815	2,815	2,795
6	5,250	5,255	5,141	3,165	3,165	3,165
7 and more	6,396	6,405	6,270	3,840	3,850	3,750

1/ Economy level is approximately 75-80 per cent of low-cost level and is for use as a temporary measure when funds are low. The standard developed in that plan pivots around roughly $3,130 for a family of 4 persons and $1,540 for an unattached individual.

Source: Orshansky, Mollie, "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile," Poverty in America (Louis A. Ferman, editor, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965) pp. 42-81.

Table 2. Income Levels for Persons and Families in Poverty, Deprivation, Comfort, and Affluence

Income Range	Budget Level
Individuals	
Less than $2,000	Poverty
$2,000 to 2,999	Deprivation
$3,000 to 4,999	Comfort
$5,000 to 7,499	Comfort-affluence
$7,500 and over	Affluence
$2,370	Modest-but-adequate (average)
Families	
Less than $4,000	Poverty
$4,000 to 5,999	Deprivation
$6,000 to 7,499	Comfort
$7,500 to 14,999	Comfort-affluence
$15,000 and over	Affluence
$6,000	Modest-but-adequate (average)

Source: Conference on Economic Progress, Poverty and Deprivation in the United States: The Plight of Two-Fifths of a Nation, Washington, D.C., 1962, pp. 13-18.

Table 3. Basic Poverty Classifications Based on Distributions of Income and Number in Household[1]

Family Income	Class				
	Serious Poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Definitely not in poverty
$ 0- 999	≤ 2 members	1 member			
1,000-1,999	≤ 5 members	2-4 members	1 member		
2,000-2,999	≤ 9 members	4-8 members	2-3 members	1 member	
3,000-4,999		≤ 8 members	4-7 members	2-3 members	1 member
5,000-7,499			≤ 9 members	4-8 members	1-3 member
7,500-9,999				≤ 6 members	1-5 members
10,000 & over				≤ 9 members	1-8 members

[1] This typology is used in this study as a crude index of the socio-economic status of the family and its various members. For purposes of the study, a head is identified as having a socio-economic status; strictly speaking, this reference is not to per-capita income but to one of the five categories which crudely approximates the same.

Source: Gladys Bowles, Economic Development Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Rex Campbell, Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri, Conference to plan analysis of Typology of Poverty Studies, Memphis, Tennessee, July 12, 1966.

Table 4. Head's Perception of the Education Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Need	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status				
		Serious poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Definitely not in poverty
	% (N=657)	% (N=35)	% (N=91)	% (N=168)	% (N-202)	% (N-161)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
6-9 years	0.6	2.9	1.1	0.6	--	0.6
Some high school	0.6	2.9	3.3	--	0.5	--
Finish high school	23.7	60.0	36.3	26.8	19.8	9.9
Some college	13.5	14.2	25.3	10.1	13.4	10.6
Finish college	61.6	20.0	34.0	62.5	66.3	78.9

Per cent by column; X^2 = 163.1--significant at .001 level with 16 d.f.

Table 5. Head's Perception of His Oldest Son's (Who is Still in School) Occupational Aspirations by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Occupational Aspirations	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status				
		Serious poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Definitely not in poverty
	% (N=193)	% (N=11)	% (N=25)	% (N=40)	% (N=61)	% (N=56)
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Farmers and farm managers	5.7	9.1	12.0	5.0	4.9	3.6
Professional, technical; and managers, officials	61.7	45.4	28.0	65.0	64.0	75.0
Clerical; sales	3.6	--	8.0	--	3.3	5.4
Craftsmen, foremen; and operative	22.8	36.4	40.0	20.0	24.6	12.5
Service	5.2	--	12.0	10.0	1.6	3.6
Private household; farm laborer; laborers	1.0	9.1	--	--	1.6	--

Per cent by column; $X^2 = 34.6$--significant at .05 level with 20 d.f.

Table 6. Head's Perception of His Oldest Son's (Who Is Still in School) Occupational Expectations by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Occupational Expectations	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status				
		Serious poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Definitely not in poverty
	% (N=391)	% (N=23)	% (N=61)	% (N=97)	% (N=122)	% (N=88)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Excellent	13.6	4.4	8.2	12.4	14.8	19.3
Good	30.2	26.1	26.2	26.8	28.7	39.7
Fair	4.9	13.0	6.6	4.1	4.9	2.3
Poor	1.3	4.4	--	--	1.6	2.3
Don't know	50.00	52.1	59.0	56.7	50.0	36.4

Per cent by column; $X^2 = 25.3$--not significant at .05 level with 16 d.f.

Table 7. Head's Perception of His Oldest Son's (Who Is Still in School) Educational Expectations

Level of Educational Attainment	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status				
		Serious poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Defintely not in poverty
	% (N=390)	% (N=23)	% (N=61)	% (N=97)	% (N=122)	% (N=87)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
6-9 years	0.5	--	1.6	--	--	1.1
Some high school	2.1	13.0	3.3	2.1	0.8	--
Finish high school	27.7	60.9	49.1	28.9	23.0	9.2
Some college	12.8	8.7	14.8	15.5	15.6	5.7
Trade, business school	3.8	4.4	6.6	3.1	3.3	3.4
Finish college	53.1	14.0	24.6	50.4	57.3	80.6

Per cent by column; X^2 = 150.7--significant at .001 level with 20 d.f.

Table 8. Educational Attainment of Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, at Home by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Attainment	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status		
		Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty
	% (N=732)	% (N=252)	% (N=194)	% (N=286)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	3.6	6.0	3.6	1.4
1-5 years	6.8	7.5	9.8	3.8
6-9 years	14.2	19.0	16.5	8.4
Some high school	17.2	15.5	21.1	16.1
Finish high school	39.9	42.4	36.1	40.3
Some college	7.5	6.0	5.2	10.5
Finish college	8.4	3.6	6.2	14.3
Other	2.4	—	1.5	5.2

Per cent by column; $X^2 = 71.0$—significant at .001 level with 14 d.f.

Table 9. Educational Attainment of Sons, 25 Years of Age or Over, at Home or Elsewhere, by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Attainment	Total % (N=761)	Head's Socio-Economic Status		
		Serious poverty and poverty % (N=259)	Marginal % (N=202)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty % (N=300)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	4.1	6.6	4.5	1.7
1-5 years	6.7	7.7	9.9	3.7
6-9 years	14.2	18.5	16.3	9.0
Some high school	17.1	15.4	20.9	16.0
Finish high school	39.6	42.5	35.1	40.3
Some college	7.6	5.8	5.9	10.3
Finish college	8.2	3.5	5.9	13.7
Other	2.5	—	1.5	5.3

Per cent by column; X^2 = 70.6--significant at .001 level with 14 d.f.

Table 10. Educational Attainment of Sons, 46 Years of Age or Over, at Home or Elsewhere, By Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Attainment	Total % (N=144)	Head's Socio-Economic Status: Serious poverty and poverty % (N=54)	Marginal % (N=66)	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty % (N=24)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	6.9	11.1	4.5	4.2
1-5 years	12.5	13.0	13.6	8.3
6-9 years	25.7	29.5	24.3	20.8
Some high school	13.2	13.0	16.7	4.2
Finish high school	29.8	22.2	34.9	33.3
Some college	5.6	9.3	4.5	--
Finish college	4.9	1.9	1.5	20.9
Other	1.4	--	--	8.3

Per cent by column; X^2 = 34.9—significant at .01 level with 14 d.f.

Table 11. Educational Attainment of Migrant Children by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Attainment	Total % (N=305)	Head's Socio-Economic Status Serious poverty and Poverty % (N=83)	 Marginal % (N=78)	 Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty % (N=144)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	3.9	3.6	10.3	0.7
1-5 years	4.6	3.6	--	7.6
6-9 years	7.2	9.6	7.7	5.6
Some high school	14.8	12.0	19.2	13.9
Finish high school	51.4	68.8	44.9	45.1
Some college	11.5	2.4	17.9	13.2
Finish college	5.6	--	--	11.8
Other	1.0	--	--	2.1

Per cent by column; X^2 = 59.3--significant at .001 level with 14 d.f.

Table 12. Fathers' (With One or More Migrant Children) Perceptions of the Education Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Need	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status		
		Serious poverty and poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty
	% (N=147)	% (N=46)	% (N=42)	% (N=59)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
12 years or less	32.7	41.3	28.6	28.8
Some college or more	67.3	58.7	71.4	71.2

Per cent by column; $X^2 = 2.3$—not significant at .05 level with 2 d.f.

Table 13. Summary of the Educational Attainment of Migrant Children by the Fathers' Perceptions of the Education Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility

Level of Educational Attainment	Total % (N=188)	Level of Educational Need Finish high school % (N=64)	 Some college % (N=39)	 Finish college % (N=85)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1st child1/	(N=89)	(N=29)	(N=18)	(N=42)
11 years or less	31.5	51.7	27.8	19.0
12 years or more	68.5	48.3	72.2	81.0
2nd child	(N=58)	(N=19)	(N=12)	(N=27)
11 years or less	34.5	57.9	50.0	11.1
12 years or more	65.5	42.1	50.0	88.9
3rd child and 4th child	(N=41)	(N=16)	(N=9)2/	(N=16)
11 years or less	48.8	68.7	--	31.3
12 years or more	51.2	31.3	--	68.7

1/ Per cent by column per child. Chi square analysis on the educational attainment of all children who migrated first found a X^2 of 9.1--significant at .05 level with 3 d.f. (The only "other" response was excluded from the table.) Similar analysis on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th migrant children, respectively, found: X^2 = 12.4--significant at .01 level with 2 d.f.; 2.3 and 3.8, respectively, not significant at .05 level with 2 d.f.

2/ There were only 9 cases in this category, 4 and 5 of which, respectively, were in the "11 years or less" and "12 years or more" educational attainment categories.

Table 14. Summary of the Educational Attainment of Migrant Children by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Level of Educational Attainment of Migrant Children	Total	Head's Socio-Economic Status		
		Serious poverty and Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty and Definitely not in poverty
	%	%	%	%
	(N=189)	(N=81)	(N=52)	(N=56)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1st child[1]	(N=90)	(N=34)	(N=24)	(N=32)
11 years or less	31.1	32.4	37.5	25.0
12 years or more	68.9	67.6	62.5	75.0
2nd child	(N=58)	(N=26)	(N=16)	(N=16)
11 years or less	34.5	30.8	37.5	37.5
12 years or more	65.5	69.2	62.5	62.5
3rd child and 4th child	(N=41)	(N=21)	(N=12)	(N=8)[2]
11 years or less	48.8	47.6	50.0	--
12 years or more	51.2	52.4	50.0	--

[1] Per cent by column per child. Chi square analysis on the educational attainment of all children who migrated first found a X^2 of 1.0--not significant at .05 level with 2 d.f. Similar analysis on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th migrant children, respectively, found: $X^2 = 0.3$, 0.8, and 2.4, respectively, each not significant at .05 level with 2 d.f.

[2] There were only 8 cases in this category, 4 of each in each category.

Table 15. Migration of Children by Head's Socio-Economic Status

Migration of Children	Total % (N=1,251)	Head's Socio-Economic Status				
		Serious poverty	Poverty	Marginal	Probably not in poverty	Definitely not in poverty
		% (N=55)	% (N=252)	% (N=356)	% (N=293)	% (N=295)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	26.9	38.2	24.6	21.6	27.0	32.9
No	73.1	61.8	75.4	78.4	73.0	67.1

Per cent by column

Table 16. Present Occupational Status of Migrant Children by Educational Attainment

Present Occupational Status of Migrant Children	Level of Educational Attainment of Migrant Children		
	Total % (N=167)	11 years or less % (N=66)	12 years or more % (N=101)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0
Military (Per cent)	7.2	6.1	7.9
Housewife	23.4	27.3	20.8
Laborers, except farm and mine	7.2	13.6	3.0
Operative and craftsmen	35.8	39.4	33.7
Clerical and sales	12.6	--	20.8
Managerial and professional	6.6	4.5	7.9
Other[1]	7.2	9.1	5.9

Per cent by column

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[1] This is a catch-all category, incorporating "unemployed or part-time employment," "student," and "service except private household," none of which had 10 or more cases.

Table 17. Present Occupational Status of Migrant Children by the Father's Perceptions of the Education Needed by His Children for Occupational Mobility

Present Occupational Status of Migrant Children	Total % (N=183)	Level of Educational Need: Finish high school % (N=63)	Some college % (N=40)	Finish college[1] % (N=80)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Military	8.7	4.8	7.5	12.5
Housewife	26.2	31.8	22.5	23.8
Laborers, except farm and mine	7.1	12.7	--	6.3
Operative and craftsmen	33.4	30.2	40.0	32.4
Clerical and sales	11.5	6.3	12.5	15.0
Managerial and professional	6.0	7.9	--	7.5
Other[2]	7.1	6.3	17.5	2.5

Per cent by column

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[1] The one "other" response was exluded from the table.

[2] This is a catch-all category, incorporating "unemployed or part-time employment," "student," and "service except private household," none of which had 10 or more cases.

Table 18. Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility of Migrant Children 25 years of Age or Over, By Head's Socio-Economic Status1/

Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility	Total % (N=212)	Head's Socio-Economic Status Serious poverty and Poverty % (N=85)	 Marginal % (N=46)	 Probably not in poverty and Difinitely not in poverty % (N=81)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Downward-1 Downward-2	7.1	4.7	6.5	9.9
Static	17.0	8.2	15.2	27.2
Upward-1	38.6	44.7	39.2	32.0
Upward-2	37.3	42.4	39.1	30.9

Per cent by column; X^2 = 13.7--significant at .05 level with 6 d.f.

1/ There is one entry in the table for each father-son relationship; for example, if a given household had 2 sons, then there was 2 entries in the table. The direction and degree of inter-generational occupational mobility was measured by the numerical difference between converted prestige values associated with the various occupational categories used by the U.S. Bureau of Census, as indicated earlier.

Table 19. Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility of Migrant Children, 25 Years of Age or Over, By Head's Educational Attainment

Level of Head's Educational Attainment	Total	Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility			
		Downward1/	Static	Upward-1	Upward-2
	% (N=212)	% (N=15)	% (N=36)	% (N=82)	% (N=79)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
8 years or less	75.0	60.0	66.7	79.3	77.2
9 years or more	25.0	40.0	33.3	20.7	22.8

Per cent by column; X^2 = 4.1--not significant at .05 level with 3 d.f.

1/ This category resulted from collapsing the categories "downward-1" and "downward-2."

Table 20. Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility of Migrant Children, 25 years of Age or Over, By The Father's Perceptions of The Education Needed by His Children For Occupational Mobility

Level of Educational Need	Total % (N=88)1/	Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility Static % (N=16)	Upward-1 % (N=34)	Upward-2 % (N=34)
TOTAL (Per cent)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
12 years or less	35.7	43.8	32.4	35.3
Some college or more	64.3	56.2	67.6	64.7

Per cent by column; X^2 = 0.8--not significant at .05 level with 2 d.f.

1/ There were 4 cases of "downward" occupational mobility. One of these was in the "12 years or less" category and 3 others were in the "some college or more" category.

FOOTNOTES

[1] If not, see William P. Kuvlesky, "A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections for Occupational and Educational Attainment: A Progress Report," paper presented to the Rural Sociological Society's Research Committee on Educational and Occupational Behavior at the 1969 Annual Meetings of The Society in San Francisco.

[2] For a recent modification of Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification of The Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276. See R.Z. Juarez, "Educational Status Orientations of Mexican-American and Anglo American Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas." (unpublished Master's Thesis, College Station: Texas A&M University, August, 1968), which interjects the intention element.

[3] Kuvlesky, *op*. *cit*., p. 3.

[4] Kohl (1957) and Darvas (1965) dispel myths and clichés about the opportunities for success.

[5] Ginzberg (1966:73) says "Values are the generalized principles to which the individual has committed himself; in turn these help him to choose and order the alternatives that he encounters in any number of life situations. Hyman (1953) suggested that lower-class individuals are immobile because they choose to adhere to values which perpetuate the existing order. That is, they have chosen a value structure that happens to be less rather than more conducive to occupational mobility.

[6] Despite the analytical and empirical focus of such writers on the relevance of values, absence of an explicit definition of the concept values is often conspicuous. Following Vander Zanden (1965:64), *values* are "the criteria or conceptions used in evaluating things (including objects, ideas, acts, feelings, and events) as to their relative desirability, merit, or correctness. They represent individually held or commonly shared conceptions of the desirable." *Value judgments* are the outcomes or results of the process. Values have at least two things in common with aspirations and expectations: (1) they are not directly observable but (2) as stated by Slocum (1967:10), "they may be inferred from behavior and to a certain extent from responses to questionnaires and interviews."

[7] Ginzberg (1966:131) in discussing level of occupational performance, points out education and training is the major factor which determines the level at which an individual performs.

[8] Although Haller (1958:355) and Lipset and Bendix (1964) have stated that parental values affect *both* the educational and occupational attainment of children, no study has systematically examined variables associated with both types of attainment among a sample of low-income rural youth. This is not to discount studies which have focused upon the relationship between socio-economic status on the

one hand and values--Hyman (1953) and Rosen (1956)--or aspirations and/or expectations--Dunkelberger (1965), Haller and Sewell (1957), Slocum (1956), Sewell, Haller, and Straus (1957), and Reissman (1953).

[9] More recent contributions include Kuvlesky and Bealer (1968) and Kuvlesky (1969).

[10] Juarez, op. cit., p. 9, which mentions that the sheme is more fully explained in Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., and in William P. Kuvlesky, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility," (paper presented at the National Vocational-Technical Education Seminar on Occupational Mobility and Migration sponsored by the Center for Research Training and Occupational Education, Raleigh, North Carolina State University, Spril 18-22, 1966).

[11] Juarez, Ibid. The writers think it is relevant to expand upon Kuvlesky and Bealer's (1966:270) that the "person element" may also vary. They also contend that person having a valuation or an expectation also "have an orientation toward or about"--valuations, aspirations, and expectations are all types of orientations toward a social object, whether it is a goal or the relationship between one or more means and one or more goals.

[12] Ibid.

[13] The empirical situations listed do not by any means exhaust the possibilities.

[14] Both Juarez, op. cit. and Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., use the terms status and goal interchangeably.

[15] Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., p. 273.

[16] This definition is similar to that mentioned by Kluckhohn and others in Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, et. al., Toward A General Theory of Action (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 395.

[17] Selected hypotheses derived from the above review of the literature posited positive relationships between: (1) the head's socio-economic status and the child's educational attainment; (2) the head's socio-economic status and the father's valuations toward his child's educational attainment; (3) the father's valuations toward his child's educational attainment and the migrant child's educational attainment; (4) the migrant child's educational attainment and the inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant child; and (5) the head's socio-economic status and the migrant child's inter-generational occupational mobility. Tables 1 and 2 indicate two previous poverty budgets; Table 3 indicates the poverty budget used in this study.

[18] For the purpose of this study, a household was defined as an occupied dwelling unit.

[19] The rationale for such stratification was that variables within each stratum are more homogeneous than are those for the population as a whole.

[20] Because the sample units were more concentrated geographically, this sampling procedure was less costly than a simple random sampling procedure whereby all the rural dwelling units in the region are listed and then 1,413 units are selected at random.

[21] The occupational categories listed in Figure 2 include all the categories used to collect the data.

[22] The subtraction of the prestige score of the father from that of the migrant child was done in preference to a subtraction of the prestige score of the migrant child from that of the father. The former alternative was selected because it allowed for the effect of structural changes in the upward direction. Thus, in a sense, the computational "cards were stacked" against upward inter-generational occupational mobility. The writers attempted to maximize the measurement of the effect of personal, individual, or family factors--factors related to the process of socialization. Five mobility categories were originally established; the latter two--"upward 2" and "upward 1"-- were collapsed into one category due to a shortage of cases.

[23] The occupational status categories presented in Figure 2 were used in the United Stated Census and were slight modifications of the original categories of Edwards (1934) and of U.S. Department of Commerce and U.S. Bureau of Census (1940:1).

[24] For the description and use of other occupational prestige categories, see Crockett (1962), Empey (1956), and Lenski (1954).

[25] The term educational need will be used in this paper as an abbreviated reference to this particular sub-concept of the concept facilitating valuation.

[26] The response pattern to this item may indicate the prevalence of differential adherence to two sets of ideal types of value orientations: (1) achievement and ascription, categorized in terms of their viewing occupational mobility as a high-priority goal; and (2) acquisitional (facilitating) and non-acquisitional, categorized in terms of their viewing educational attainment as a relevant means to the goal or end of occupational mobility.

[27] The same cutting points were used to calculate the occupational status and inter-generational mobility of the father and (one through four of) his migrant children.

[28] Results of the chi-square test statistic are presented only for those relationships whose direction and strength (.05 level or above) were hypothesized prior to the data analysis.

[29] Following Kuvlesky and Jacob (1968:4), aspirations are projections by individuals in terms of status he desires to attain, whereas aspirations are projections by individuals in terms of a status he expects to attain.

[30] Another finding, which corresponded to one reported by Empey (1956), showed that while sons of heads of lower socio-economic status had lower absolute

aspirations, their relative aspirations were similar to those of sons of heads of higher socio-economic status.

[31] Other studies of the educational and occupational orientations of rural youth which also have found a significant relationship between socio-economic status or social class and educational expectations include Bishop, et. al. (1965), Jeffrey (1966), Lowe (1963), and Sperry and Kivett (1964).

[32] However, among 13 migrant children who were 46 years of age or over, a higher proportion of children of heads of lower than higher socio-economic status had attained upward inter-generational occupational mobility.

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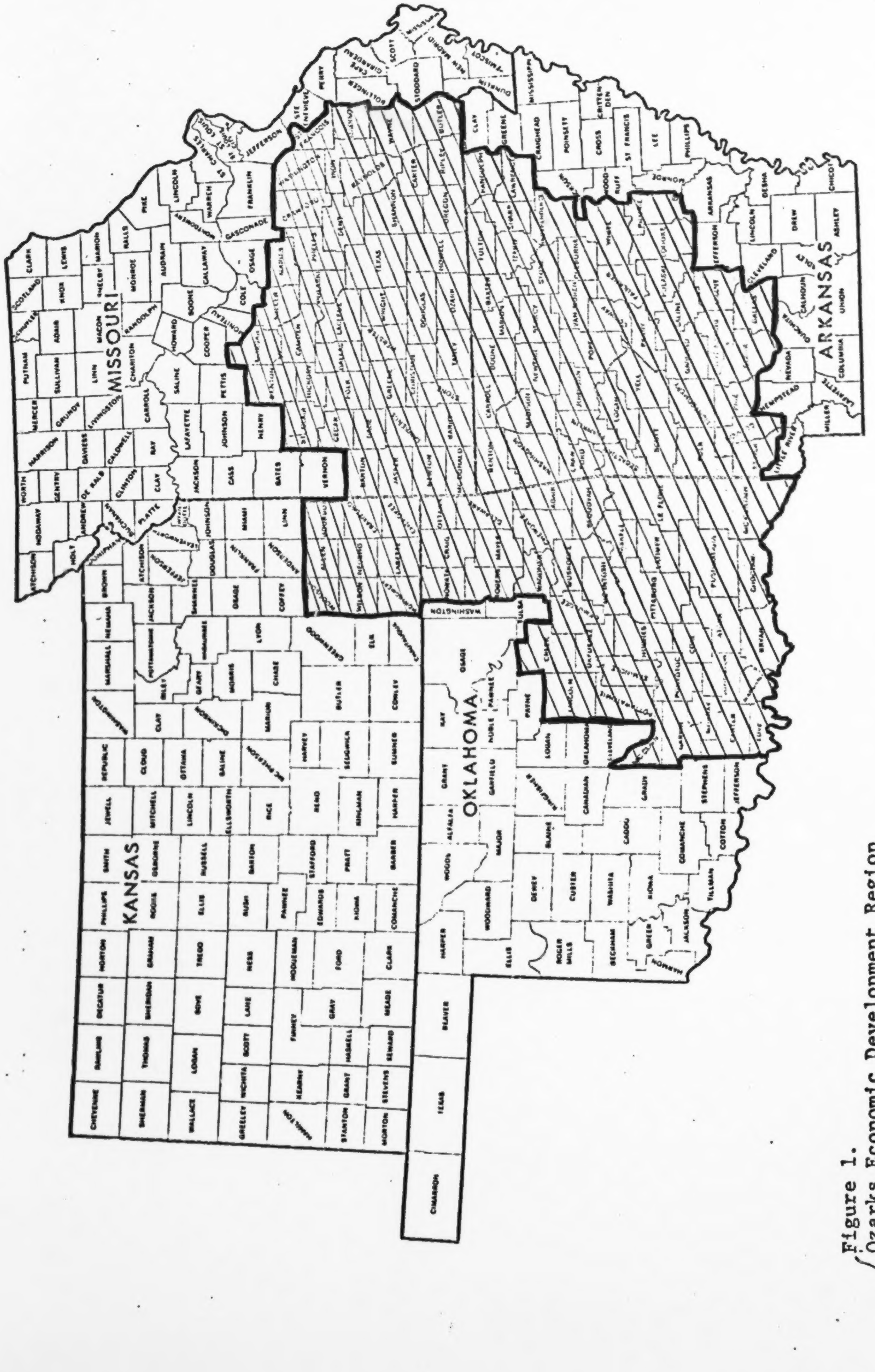
Appendix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ARKANSAS

Figure 1.
Ozarks Economic Development Region

Occupational Category	Rank Value of Occupational Prestige
Retired and disabled	1
Disabled	2
Retired	3
Military	4
Housewife	5
Unemployed or part-time employment	6
Student	7
Laborers, except farm and mine	8
Farm laborers and farm foremen	9
Service except private household	10
Private household	11
Operative	12
Craftsmen	13
Clerical	14
Sales	15
Farmers and farm managers	16
Managers	17
Professional	18

Figure 2.

Index of Occupational Status

Mobility Type	Difference in Son-Father Occupational Status	Rank Value
Upward-2	+5 - +17	4
Upward-1	+2 - +4	3
Static	-1 - +1	2
Downward	-17 - -1	1

Figure 3.

Index of Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility

Years of Formal Education Needed	Rank Value
None	1
1-5 years	2
6-9 years	3
Some high school	4
Finish high school	5
Some college	6
Finish college	7

Figure 4.

Index of Educational Need of Children

Level of Formal Education Completed	Rank Value
1-5 years	1
6-9 years	2
Some high school	3
Finish high school	4
Some college	5
Trade, business school	6
Finish college	7

Figure 5.

Index of Educational Status

FOOTNOTES

[1] If not, see William P. Kuvlesky, "A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections for Occupational and Educational Attainment: A Progress Report," paper presented to the Rural Sociological Society's Research Committee on Educational and Occupational Behavior at the 1969 Annual Meetings of The Society in San Francisco.

[2] For a recent modification of Kuvlesky and Bealer, "A Clarification of The Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276. See R.Z. Juarez, "Educational Status Orientations of Mexican-American and Anglo American Youth in Selected Low-Income Counties of Texas." (unpublished Master's Thesis, College Station: Texas A&M University, August, 1968), which interjects the intention element.

[3] Kuvlesky, op. cit., p. 3.

[4] Kohl (1957) and Darvas (1965) dispel myths and clichés about the opportunities for success.

[5] Ginzberg (1966:73) says "Values are the generalized principles to which the individual has committed himself; in turn these help him to choose and order the alternatives that he encounters in any number of life situations. Hyman (1953) suggested that lower-class individuals are immobile because they choose to adhere to values which perpetuate the existing order. That is, they have chosen a value structure that happens to be less rather than more conducive to occupational mobility.

[6] Despite the analytical and empirical focus of such writers on the relevance of values, absence of an explicit definition of the concept values is often conspicuous. Following Vander Zanden (1965:64), values are "the criteria or conceptions used in evaluating things (including objects, ideas, acts, feelings, and events) as to their relative desirability, merit, or correctness. They represent individually held or commonly shared conceptions of the desirable." Value judgments are the outcomes or results of the process. Values have at least two things in common with aspirations and expectations: (1) they are not directly observable but (2) as stated by Slocum (1967:10), "they may be inferred from behavior and to a certain extent from responses to questionnaires and interviews."

[7] Ginzberg (1966:131) in discussing level of occupational performance, points out education and training is the major factor which determines the level at which an individual performs.

[8] Although Haller (1958:355) and Lipset and Bendix (1964) have stated that parental values affect both the educational and occupational attainment of children, no study has systematically examined variables associated with both types of attainment among a sample of low-income rural youth. This is not to discount studies which have focused upon the relationship between socio-economic status on the

one hand and values--Hyman (1953) and Rosen (1956)--or aspirations and/or expectations--Dunkelberger (1965), Haller and Sewell (1957), Slocum (1956), Sewell, Haller, and Straus (1957), and Reissman (1953).

[9] More recent contributions include Kuvlesky and Bealer (1968) and Kuvlesky (1969).

[10] Juarez, op. cit., p. 9, which mentions that the sheme is more fully explained in Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., and in William P. Kuvlesky, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility," (paper presented at the National Vocational-Technical Education Seminar on Occupational Mobility and Migration sponsored by the Center for Research Training and Occupational Education, Raleigh, North Carolina State University, Spril 18-22, 1966).

[11] Juarez, Ibid. The writers think it is relevant to expand upon Kuvlesky and Bealer's (1966:270) that the "person element" may also vary. They also contend that person having a valuation or an expectation also "have an orientation toward or about"--valuations, aspirations, and expectations are all types of orientations toward a social object, whether it is a goal or the relationship between one or more means and one or more goals.

[12] Ibid.

[13] The empirical situations listed do not by any means exhaust the possibilities.

[14] Both Juarez, op. cit. and Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., use the terms status and goal interchangeably.

[15] Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., p. 273.

[16] This definition is similar to that mentioned by Kluckhohn and others in Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, et. al., Toward A General Theory of Action (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 395.

[17] Selected hypotheses derived from the above review of the literature posited positive relationships between: (1) the head's socio-economic status and the child's educational attainment; (2) the head's socio-economic status and the father's valuations toward his child's educational attainment; (3) the father's valuations toward his child's educational attainment and the migrant child's educational attainment; (4) the migrant child's educational attainment and the inter-generational occupational mobility of the migrant child; and (5) the head's socio-economic status and the migrant child's inter-generational occupational mobility. Tables 1 and 2 indicate two previous poverty budgets; Table 3 indicates the poverty budget used in this study.

[18] For the purpose of this study, a household was defined as an occupied dwelling unit.

[19] The rationale for such stratification was that variables within each stratum are more homogeneous than are those for the population as a whole.

[20] Because the sample units were more concentrated geographically, this sampling procedure was less costly than a simple random sampling procedure whereby all the rural dwelling units in the region are listed and then 1,413 units are selected at random.

[21] The occupational categories listed in Figure 2 include all the categories used to collect the data.

[22] The subtraction of the prestige score of the father from that of the migrant child was done in preference to a subtraction of the prestige score of the migrant child from that of the father. The former alternative was selected because it allowed for the effect of structural changes in the upward direction. Thus, in a sense, the computational "cards were stacked" against upward inter-generational occupational mobility. The writers attempted to maximize the measurement of the effect of personal, individual, or family factors--factors related to the process of socialization. Five mobility categories were originally established; the latter two--"upward 2" and "upward 1"-- were collapsed into one category due to a shortage of cases.

[23] The occupational status categories presented in Figure 2 were used in the United Stated Census and were slight modifications of the original categories of Edwards (1934) and of U.S. Department of Commerce and U.S. Bureau of Census (1940:1).

[24] For the description and use of other occupational prestige categories, see Crockett (1962), Empey (1956), and Lenski (1954).

[25] The term *educational need* will be used in this paper as an abbreviated reference to this particular sub-concept of the concept facilitating valuation.

[26] The response pattern to this item may indicate the prevalence of differential adherence to two sets of ideal types of value orientations: (1) *achievement* and *ascription*, categorized in terms of their viewing occupational mobility as a high-priority goal; and (2) *acquisitional* (facilitating) and *non-acquisitional*, categorized in terms of their viewing educational attainment as a relevant means to the goal or end of occupational mobility.

[27] The same cutting points were used to calculate the occupational status and inter-generational mobility of the father and (one through four of) his migrant children.

[28] Results of the chi-square test statistic are presented only for those relationships whose direction and strength (.05 level or above) were hypothesized prior to the data analysis.

[29] Following Kuvlesky and Jacob (1968:4), aspirations are projections by individuals in terms of status he desires to attain, whereas aspirations are projections by individuals in terms of a status he expects to attain.

[30] Another finding, which corresponded to one reported by Empey (1956), showed that while sons of heads of lower socio-economic status had lower absolute

aspirations, their relative aspirations were similar to those of sons of heads of higher socio-economic status.

[31] Other studies of the educational and occupational orientations of rural youth which also have found a significant relationship between socio-economic status or social class and educational expectations include Bishop, et. al. (1965), Jeffrey (1966), Lowe (1963), and Sperry and Kivett (1964).

[32] However, among 13 migrant children who were 46 years of age or over, a higher proportion of children of heads of lower than higher socio-economic status had attained upward inter-generational occupational mobility.

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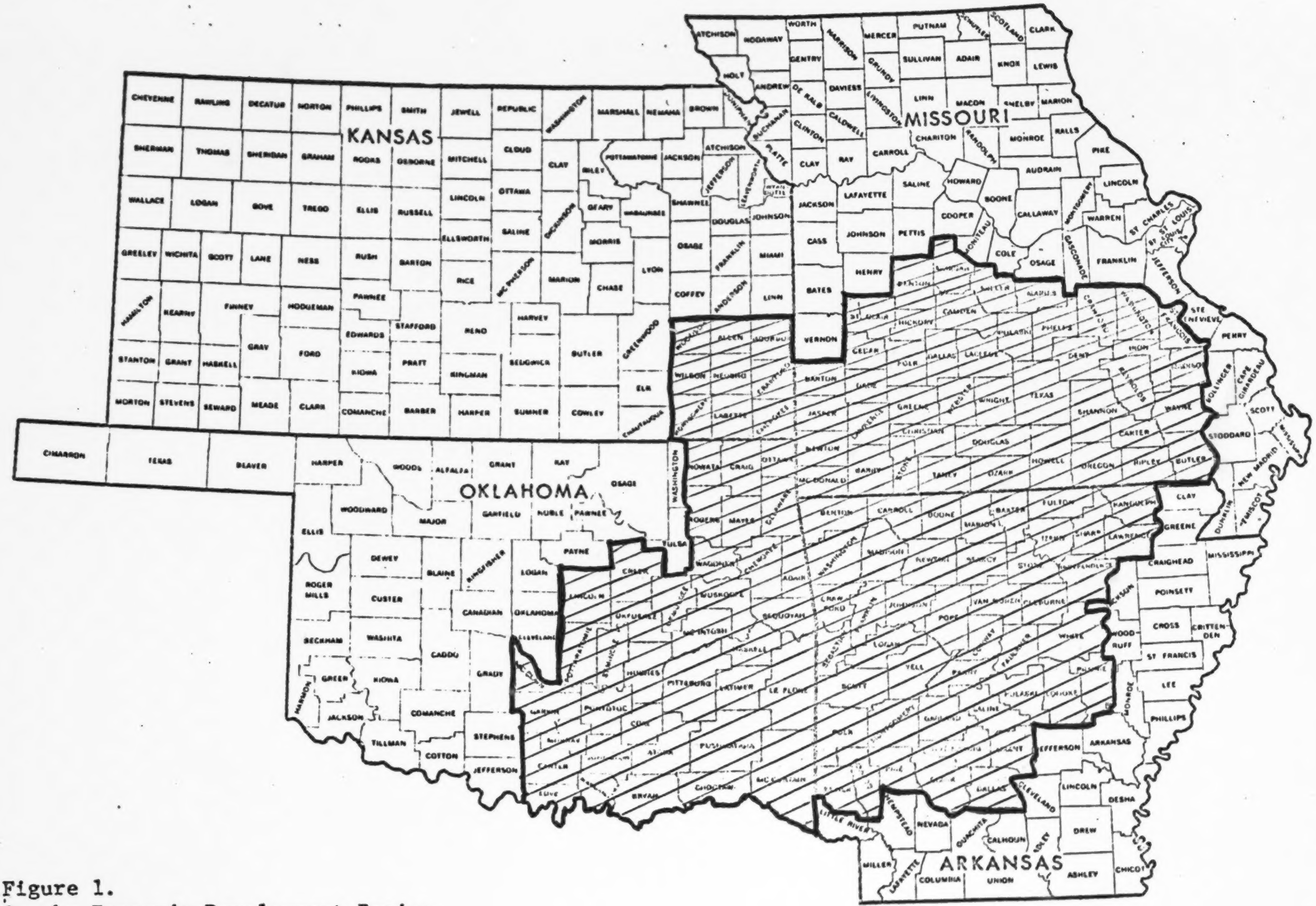
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KNOX
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MACON
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BUCHANAN
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CLAY
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LAFAYETTE
SALINE
HOWARD
BOONE
CALLAWAY
MONTGOMERY
LINCOLN
WARREN
ST CHARLES
ST LOUIS
CASS
JOHNSON
PETTIS
COOPER
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COLE
OSAGE
GASCONADE
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CRAWFORD
ADAIR
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CARTER
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Finish college	7

Figure 5.

Index of Educational Status